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THE TRIBUNE.

Mr. Adams's Report.

John Tyler's Reasons for Signing the Apportionment Law.

John Tyler's Reasons for Signing the Apportionment Law. The President Tyler announced to Congress that he had signed the Apportionment bill and declared his reasons therefor in the office of the Secretary of State, the novelty of the course excited a very general solicitude. 'Reasons' for signing a bill passed by Congress? Why thousands of bills had been signed by eight Presidents during a period of over half a century, yet no one ever offered or filed 'reasons' for doing. If he vetoed a bill, he gave reasons; but never for signing one. The act of President Tyler is therefore wholly unprecedented. In this day of Executive encroachment and Legislative apprehensions, is calculated to excite the most serious apprehensions. If the President had stated himself with merely stating that he had signed his official act to the will of Congress, while his own private opinion was different, would have justified him in thus 'defining his position'; but the insidious and extraordinary character of his 'Reasons' are entirely without justification.

Mr. Adams, having obtained a copy of the 'Reasons' and a Select Committee thereon, made report to the House on the subject, which has for some days awaiting a place in our columns. We are now constrained to omit the first of the Report, containing a constitutional examination and argumentative denial of the right of the President of the United States to accompany his signature of a bill presented to him with any qualification or reservation whatever. From this, Mr. Adams proceeds to an exposition of Mr. Tyler's reasons, as follows:

The President announces that one of his reasons for entertaining deep and strong doubts of the constitutionality of the law which he has approved and signed, is that it purports to be mandatory on the State to form districts for the choice of Representatives in single districts.

The Committee believe this to be by far the most important and most useful provision of the law. They believe, indeed, the establishment of a principle absolutely indispensable to the preservation of the Union. The representation of the people by single districts is undoubtedly the only mode by which the principle of representation by equal numbers can be carried into execution. The provision of the Constitution is, that Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand of federal numbers, and every act of apportionment has necessarily prescribed one number for every addition of the common multiple of the several States. A more unequal mode of assembling a representation of the people in a deliberative body could not easily be contrived than that of one portion chosen by a general ticket throughout the State, another portion by single districts, and a third portion partly by double, treble, and quadruple districts. This form, in the mass, a representation not of one representative for the common standard number throughout the whole Union, but of States, and cities, and sectional divisions, in knots and clusters of population, of different dimensions and proportions, more likely to be governed by the spirit of party than by patriotism. At present, seven of the smaller States acquire an undue share of locally concentrated power in the House, by general ticket elections, stifling the voices and smothering the opinions of minorities nearly equal to half the people of the State thus disfranchised by the overbearing insolence of a majority, always meagre, and as it grows larger growing more inexorable and oppressive.

The larger States have hitherto passed over with little notice this practical iniquity, by which the State of New Hampshire, with five members, preponderates over the State of New York, with forty; but it is in the nature of things impossible that this should be suffered to continue long. The manner of election for the members of this House must be uniform. The general ticket or the single district must be the common rule for all; and if the smaller States will insist upon sending members to this House all of one mind, New York, or Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or all three together, will, ere long, teach them by other results the arithmetical combination of concentrated numbers.

Should the general ticket system universally prevail, it is obvious that the representation in this House will entirely change its character, from a representation of the People to a representation of States, and transform the constitutional Government of the United States into a mere confederation like that which, fifty-four years ago, fell to pieces for the want of ligatures to hold it together. It is in the spirit of this dissolution of the Constitution, and consequently of the Union, that the President records his surrendered doubts of the constitutionality of the apportionment act, because it purports to be mandatory on the States to form districts for the choice of Representatives to Congress in single districts. But what schoolboy does not know that it is the vital property of law to be mandatory—that what is not mandatory cannot be law? The very definition of municipal law, by the great jurist of England, is a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in the State commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong. It is equally clear that the existence of Liberty herself, in any community of men, is identical with the mandatory character of the law; and the only distinction between a free and an arbitrary Government is, that the one is a Government of laws, and the other a Government of men.

Is the objection of the President, that this mandatory character of the law is made applicable to the action of the sovereign States? But the law derives its mandatory authority from the Constitution itself, which the States have bound themselves, by the most solemn obligations, to obey. The command is in the Constitution, which has in express terms vested in Congress the power exercised in this section of the act. The President admits that the power of Congress, by law, to alter State regulations respecting the manner of holding elections for Representatives is clear; but he has felt deep and strong doubts of the power to command the States to make new regulations, or alter their existing regulations.

This objection would invalidate every apportionment act which has been prescribed by Congress during the existence of this Government. Every new apportionment act not only annuls the regulations provided by the laws of the several States to hold elections of Representatives under the preceding apportionment, but is mandatory to the States to provide regulations for holding the elections within the States, conformably to the new apportionment law enacted by Congress. In every successive apportionment law, the number of Representatives in this House which many of the States have been entitled to send during the preceding ten years is increased or diminished; and the numerous State Legislatures which have been so long waiting for the legislation of Congress at this time and on this subject, the special extraordinary sessions which more than one of those Legislatures have been under the necessity of holding, have all been caused by their indispensable duty to provide regulations for giving effect to the mandatory injunction of the Congressional law.

THE ASSOCIATION.

CONTRIBUTED BY THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION.

According to Fourier, the present System of Society is false in nearly all its features and bearings, and is exactly the reverse of the true system of Society, to which Man is destined, and which is to be attained by discovering the Science of Society, or the true Laws and Principles upon which the Social Organization should rest—not by the political controversies and reforms, which have occupied the Leaders of the World for the last twenty-five centuries. A general view of the contrasts between the present false Social Order and Association, is sufficient to show that one is Hell and the other Heaven upon Earth.

- Results of our Present Societies.
1. Waste.
 2. Indigence.
 3. Fraud.
 4. Oppression.
 5. War.
 6. Diseases uselessly and artificially produced.
 7. Predominance of all prejudices; and obstacles offered to improvements.

UNIVERSAL DISTRUST—DUPLICITY OF ACTION.

By WANT, STARVATION AND VIOLENCE.

TABLE OF CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE PRESENT FALSE SYSTEM OF SOCIETY AND ASSOCIATION.

[This Table is to be read across the two Columns.]

Characteristics of the Present System of Society.

1. Smallest possible assemblage of Persons;—one single Family, deprived of Capital, Credit, and often of the Implements of Labor.
2. Absence of a system of sharehold property, and unsaleableness of Real Estate at will and for its full value.
3. Separation of all branches of Industry, and their isolated prosecution in our present Societies.
4. Complicated and cumulative exercise of Industry, obliging an individual to oversee all branches of a work.
5. Solitary and prolonged Occupations without Emulation.
6. Monotonous occupations, continued often for life without change or variety.
7. Bad application of the Labor of Sexes and Ages,—of capacities to functions, and of crops to soils.
8. No just reward according to merit and talent; no distinct division of Profits to each person—Man, Woman, and Child.
9. Unprofitable and useless Works, unhealthy from prolonged and laborious application.
10. Exclusion of the Laborer from an interest in Enterprises, and frequent privation of the enjoyment of the products of his Labor.
11. Arbitrary Statutes, repressive of Capacities and Talents.
12. Painful obedience of the individual to the individual.
13. Pecuniary Dependence, and Indirect Servitude from Indigence.
14. False and pernicious development of the Passions and Instincts, without equilibrium to check excesses.
15. Excesses in Pleasures, produced by continued Privations.
16. Health and fortune lost in the pursuit of present trivial pleasures and amusements.
17. Permanency of Fraud and Overreaching in business and industrial Operations.
18. Riches acquired by the practice of Injustice and indirect Fraud.
19. Productive Industry subservient to Commerce, and dependent upon it for sales and purchases.
20. Party Strife and abortive Political Reforms.
21. Conflict of the individual with the collective Interest.
22. Universal Selfishness—universal Apathy and Indifference of Man toward his fellow Man—incoherent and groveling strife after money, and the physical or lowest order of Wants.

PRIMARY CONDITIONS WHICH ASSOCIATION MUST FULFIL.

ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY.

1. Guarantee to all children of equal chances of an Industrial and Scientific Education, and complete development of the mind and body.
2. Maintenance of Individual Property, and extension of its right to the Woman and the Child.
3. Free development of individual character and of all faculties and talents,—combined with the unity of action of Association.
4. Useful employment and harmonious development of the Passions and Attractions.
5. Maintenance and noble development of all true and legitimate Sentiments in Human Nature: such as Religion, the Family Tie, &c. and the Institutions based upon them.
6. Cultivation and embellishment of the Globe.

DEFECTS AND IMPERFECTIONS OF OUR PRESENT FALSE SOCIETIES.

Political and Business Characteristics.

1. Prostitution of the Representative system for party and other purposes.
2. Extravagant National and State Loans.
3. Enormous Capital and Commerce on the Political Power.
4. Financial schemes and frauds.
5. Withdrawal of Capital from Agriculture.
6. Individual and corporate Banking and artificial Money without guarantees.
7. Currency arbitrarily controlled.
8. Artificial contractions and expansions in the same.
9. Hazardous speculations and overtrading.
10. Excessive intermediate profits in all business operations.
11. Tyranny of Capital over Industry.
12. Subserviency of the Press to Party Politics, Commerce and the Law.
13. Servile flattery of public prejudices to gain popularity.
14. Illusive and abortive political reforms.
15. Defects of Agriculture, prosecuted by Isolated Families.

Defects of the System of Isolated Families.

1. Absence of liberty and variety in occupations and relations—Source of Repugnant Industry.
2. Absence of Unity in plans and execution.
3. Ruin of the Children by the death of the father.
4. Inconstancy of individuals in their undertakings.
5. Absence of Economy in hands and in Machinery.
6. Conflicts of rival enterprises.
7. Reciprocal frauds and larcenies.
8. Unjust partiality for favorite children.
9. Feminine characters smothered.
10. Widows and orphans cheated and defrauded.
11. Obstacles to the development of talents and capacities.
12. Richer branches of families despising the Poorer branches.
13. Incompatibility of characters and tastes.
14. Harbors embittered by perpetual contact.
15. Dependent Widowhood and Orphanage.
16. Slavery of the Mass from the care of large families.
17. Speculations on death and inheritances.

Results of Association.

1. Vast Economies.
2. General Riches.
3. Practical Truth.
4. Real Liberty.
5. Constant Peace.
6. Preventive System of Medicine.
7. Progress in all branches; and opening offered to improvements.

GENERAL CONFIDENCE—UNITY OF ACTION.

By ATTRACTION & VOLUNTARY COOPERATION.

Characteristics of Association.

1. Large assemblages of Persons; eighteen hundred to two thousand, well provided with Capital, Credit, and Means.
2. Land, Edifices, &c. represented by stock divided into shares, and transferable and saleable at will, like rail-road or other stock.
3. Combined prosecution of all branches of Industry in the same Association.
4. Minute division of Labor,—allowing each individual the liberty of choosing that detail of a work which he prefers.
5. Short and varied Occupations in Groups, stimulated by emulation.
6. Multiplicity of occupations, open to the free choice of individuals, and adapted to all tastes and talents.
7. Judicious application of the Labor of Sexes and Ages,—of Capital, Talent, and all the means of Production.
8. Profits awarded to Labor, Capital, and Skill, and paid individually to every person—Man, Woman, and Child.
9. Works of assured Profit, healthy from short exercise and frequent changes.
10. Easy acquisition of Property in Association, and participation of all Beings in the enjoyment of Social Advantages.
11. Free development and useful employment of Capacities and Talents.
12. Honorable obedience of the individual to the decision of the mass.
13. Pecuniary Independence, secured by attractive Industry and the right of labor.
14. Passions and Instincts directed to Industry, and equilibrated by proper counterpoises.
15. Counterpoise to Excesses from variety of Pleasures.
16. Health and profit found in the pleasures of Attractive Industry, and the high enjoyments of Association.
17. Impossibility of Fraud and Larceny, by means of Unity of interests, and proper checks.
18. Truth and Justice the sole avenues to Fortune.
19. End of the excessive Profits, monopolies, and adulterations of Commerce, and its sway over Industry.
20. Practical experiments in true or Social Reforms.
21. Unity of the individual with the Collective Interest.
22. Full Development of all the higher Social feelings and sympathies—individual and collective Philanthropy—direction of human Intelligence to the noble Occupations in Art, Science and Industry.

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